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OBSERVATIONS

ON

**PUBLIC LIBERTY, PATRIOTISM,
MINISTERIAL DESPOTISM, AND
NATIONAL GRIEVANCES.**

WITH

**SOME REMARKS ON RIOTS, PETITIONS,
LOYAL ADDRESSES, AND MILITARY
EXECUTION.**

IN A

L E T T E R

TO THE

**FREEHOLDERS of the County of MIDDLESEX,
and the LIVERY of LONDON.**

By an INDEPENDENT CITIZEN of LONDON:

"The Experience of all times shews, that the people are with diffi-
culty moved to assert their rights, even against the most obvious, the
most oppressive tyrannies."
MACAULAY.

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GENTLEMEN,

THE disputes which have been for some time past agitated in this kingdom, are of such a nature, that no man who loves his country can be uninterested in the subject of them. The inhabitants of England have expended so much blood and treasure in opposing tyranny, and in defending and maintaining their liberties, that it is natural to suppose they will not quietly or tamely give up rights, which in themselves are invaluable, and which they have purchased at so dear a rate. It cannot, therefore, be wondered at, that so many Englishmen are alarmed at the apprehension of any design to deprive them of that Freedom, which to noble and generous spirits is the highest of all human blessings, and the possession of

which has rendered England the envy and admiration of surrounding nations. I have ever thought it the duty of a virtuous member of society to promote the cause of Liberty, which is the interest of all mankind, as much as may be in his power ; and shall, therefore, think I am acting the part of a good citizen, in endeavouring to animate my countrymen to persist in maintaining their privileges, and opposing the encroachments of tyranny, with a manly and patriotic firmness.

WITH this view I shall in this letter offer a few observations relative to the subject of our present political disputes. These remarks may, perhaps, be thought by some sufficiently obvious ; but it should be remembered, that what is obvious to one man is not so to another. CIVIL LIBERTY is one of the greatest blessings which any people can enjoy, and a settled state of national servitude the greatest of temporal evils, to those who are possessed of the more noble and generous feelings of humanity. Indeed, those who would of choice subject themselves to arbitrary power, must be the most mean and contemptible of all human beings. How great an abhorrence our brave ancestors had of tyranny, the noble and vigorous opposition they made
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against it is an ample evidence. Their aversion to despotism occasioned them to cut off the head of one Tyrant of the house of Stuart, and at length led them to banish the whole family. At the Revolution, the rights of the people were established on a firmer basis than they had ever been before; and after that important event, it might have been reasonably hoped, that no future ministers of state would dare to violate that free constitution, and those principles of Liberty, on which their master's right to the throne was founded.

'TILL very lately, the friends of the House of Hanover have generally been considered as partizans of Liberty; but for a few years past, by an extraordinary change in political affairs, the men who have *pretended* the greatest loyalty to the K—g, have been defenders of those principles which formerly distinguished those who were the greatest enemies to his Majesty's family; and those who used to be considered as the most firm and steady friends of the House of Hanover, are now, because they adhere to the old Whig principles, stigmatized as factious, seditious, disaffected, and even rebellious.

So much has been already said on the
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case of Mr. Wilkes, that it might be tedious to enter very particularly into that subject. I shall, however, make a few remarks relative to it. It must, I apprehend, be thought very extraordinary in foreign nations, that an English senator should have suffered so much persecution as he has done, only for writing a political paper, in a country which, *till very lately*, was every where famous for the Liberty enjoyed by its inhabitants, and particularly for the Freedom of the Press. I shall be told, perhaps, that the prosecution against Mr. Wilkes was not merely for his being the author of a political paper; that he was prosecuted not only for the *North Briton*, but for the *Essay on Woman*. It is, however, sufficiently notorious, that if he had not been supposed to be the author of the former, he would never have been prosecuted for publishing the latter: and it should be remembered, that when measures were taken to prosecute him for the poem, no copy of the book which he was condemned for *publishing*, was to be obtained without *bribing*. It is, therefore, ridiculous to the last degree, to suppose that the prosecuting him on account of that poem, arose from any regard to religion or virtue. However, I think that the long persecution which this gentleman has suffered, must lead foreigners

to imagine, that the form of government in this country has been altered, or at least that the national liberty has sustained a very considerable diminution.

IT is, I suppose, agreed on all hands, that some of the first proceedings against Mr. Wilkes were illegal. It was, indeed, determined that they were so in the courts of justice: and it might have been reasonably expected, that the consideration of this would have taught our ministers some degree of modesty and moderation. But this has not been the case. They have continued to harass and to persecute him by every method in their power, however unjustifiable; and by that means justly exasperated the greatest and honestest part of the kingdom. And not content with this, they have still farther encreased the national indignation, not only by the methods which they have employed to keep Mr. Wilkes out of the House of C——s, but by the endeavours they have used to deprive the Freeholders of Middlesex of the right of sending their own representatives to parliament.

WITH respect to the many things that have been said relative to Mr. Wilkes's private character, these, whether true or false, were

were nothing to the purpose. The question is not whether he be a good or a bad man, but whether the rights of Englishmen have not been violated in the illegal seizure of his person and papers, and the other arbitrary proceedings against him. If the proceedings which were carried on against Mr. Wilkes were justifiable, they would have been equally justifiable against the most virtuous man in the kingdom; for whatever the failings of his private character might be, no prosecution was carried on against him on account of them. He might have been as vicious as he pleased, the people in power would have taken very little umbrage at that, if he had not spoken too much truth of ministers of state. I suppose it will hardly be disputed, but that as virtuous a man as ever existed, might write a political paper, which a despotic minister would stile a seditious libel: and the uprightness and integrity of his intentions would be very little security to him, if the proceedings against him were similar to those against Mr. Wilkes. And it may also be remarked, that in the late dispute between the M——y, and you, Gentlemen, the Freeholders of Middlesex, the question was not, whether Mr. Wilkes was the most proper person to be elected; but whether you had not a right to send whom you thought proper

THERE is a degree of public virtue, which may be sufficient to cancel many private vices. And whilst the people consider Mr. Wilkes as having been arbitrarily and illegally oppressed, it is highly rational in them to support him, though there may be considerable failings in his character. And his having defended his own rights, and in them those of the people, with so much noble firmness, and manly constancy, give him a just claim to being considered as a very proper man to maintain their privileges in the great national assembly. However, as the Freeholders of Middlesex have elected him, they should exert themselves to support their legal and constitutional liberty: no power on earth has a right to dictate to them whom they shall chuse as their deputy and representative, and of his merits they have an indisputable right to judge for themselves. If they are deprived of this, they are deprived of the most important right which an Englishman can boast; of a right which no bribes, no menaces, no dangers, should ever induce them to give up.

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faction at the proceedings against Mr. Wilkes, in which they considered their own privileges as violated. But have the ministers taken any pains to satisfy the people, that no designs are forming unfavourable to the public liberty? Have they not, on the contrary, rather studied to provoke and to exasperate them? This is what they appear to have done, if we may judge from their conduct. We have heard much of inflammatory papers and writings; but has any thing appeared so truly *inflammatory* as the measures of adm——n? It is often necessary for those who are sincerely attached to a free constitution, to endeavour to arouse their countrymen to a just sense of the value and importance of their native rights, and to excite them to maintain them with firmness and spirit: but however useful any writings of this tendency may be, and however well intentioned, the interested partizans of the court will ever revile them as seditious and inflammatory. But supposing, for argument sake, that the people in general were in the wrong in the present political disputes, would not a wise and prudent M——y take some measures to pacify and quiet them? Is it not enough that they have set the whole continent of America in a flame, but must they also wantonly exasperate

perate the whole people of England? The people are apprehensive that the M——y are forming designs unfavourable to their liberties; they think that they have already invaded their rights: would not the m——rs, if their intentions were honest, take some measures to satisfy the nation that they have no designs prejudicial to its liberties? instead of obstinately persisting in the most obnoxious measures, and only displaying a disposition to support those measures by military force?

GREAT complaints have been made of the seditious and riotous disposition of the people. With respect to riots, however irregular they may be in their own nature, and however dangerous, it is impossible to prevent them in a country where the spirit of Freedom is predominant, if those who have the management of public affairs labour to pervert, and to violate the laws of the land, and disregard the spirit of the constitution. For my own part, when I consider what repeated attempts have been made wantonly to exasperate the people, I wonder at their moderation, and am surprized that they have not committed greater violences. In the most despotic countries, they sometimes find it necessary to accommodate themselves to the temper of

the people: and even in Turkey, it is no uncommon thing to put a wicked Vizier to death to make the people quiet. But in England, for some time past, it seems to have been thought good policy to practise every odious and unpopular measure that could be suggested. But do the M——s suppose, that the people are entirely destitute of that spirit which animated their brave ancestors? If they flatter themselves with this, they may, perhaps, when it is too late, repent of their mistake. The inhabitants of this country have not yet forgotten, that they are the descendants of those men who raised the House of Hanover to the throne of England, for this purpose, to support and maintain the liberties of the people. However, I should suppose, that those who have abetted hired assassins, and supported and protected them after they had been convicted of perpetrating murder, in a lawless attempt to obstruct the course of a free election; such men, I think, can complain of riots but with a very ill grace. Indeed, it was with infinite decency, that the men who had taken so much pains to screen murderers, who had been engaged in one of the most lawless riots that can be conceived, should afterwards procure a reward to be offered of Five Hundred Pounds, for apprehending
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the persons who had been guilty of — breaking the shins of a *Loyal Addresser*, — who was going up with his brethren on the virtuous design of preventing, as far as in them lay, his M——y from doing any thing to quiet the minds of his people.

ADDRESSES to our kings seem to have been formerly considered, as intended to convey to them the sense of their subjects at any particular important crisis. But, of late, the chief design of them seems to be to mislead and deceive the S——n. It has been for some time past hoped, that the general dissatisfaction of the people at the measures of the ministry would at length reach the ear of M——y; and it was thought that in consequence of this some redress might have been obtained of those grievances of which the nation complained. But to prevent any such salutary event, a number of men are prevailed upon to carry up and present an address to the K—g, assuring him of their unbounded loyalty, and telling him how much they detested those among their fellow-subjects — who had the spirit to complain of ministerial oppression, and assert the rights of Freemen and of Englishmen. Many of these loyal addresses have been lately presented, and a great abundance of
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them from North Britain ; now the most loyal part of his Majesty's dominions ; and no longer, it seems, as formerly, the seat of disaffection and rebellion.

WHAT good purpose could be answered by these extraordinary effusions of loyalty, at the present crisis, it is not very easy to discover. Supposing the present dissatisfaction among the people to be ill-grounded, could any man think that these loyal gentlemen's going up to tell the K—g, that a great part of his subjects were factious and seditious, would have any tendency to promote peace, and diminish the national discontent ? The declaration of these good men and true, that they abhorred all opposition to our present wise and virtuous ministers, and their righteous proceedings, could have no tendency to make the factious more loyal : and if a majority of the nation are discontented with the public measures, which I apprehend is a notorious fact, it was doing very little kindness to his M—y, to persuade him that the bulk of his people are perfectly satisfied with the proceedings of administration. In short, it seemed impossible, in the nature of things, that these loyal addresses could answer any good purpose to the K—g, or to the nation. They might, indeed, contribute, in
some

some small degree, towards supporting, for a short time, the tottering authority of an unpopular minister: and they might also produce some private advantages to those over-loyal gentlemen, who were so ready to perform an office so grateful to the minister, but so contemptible in the eyes of their more independent and patriotic fellow citizens.

HAVING said thus much on loyal addresses, I will here make an observation on the subject of Petitions, another mode of application to the crown, not quite so pleasing to our worthy M——rs. The doctrines of Toryism and Slavery have for some time past been so diligently cultivated, that some have, lately, it seems, even doubted whether the people have a right to petition the K—g, at least in terms not agreeable to the court, and whether such a petition would be received. This is, indeed, a most extraordinary doubt. I should apprehend, that under the most despotic governments the people would be allowed to petition, though sometimes no regard may be paid to their petitions. But in a free country, like England, the people have an indisputable right not only to petition but to remonstrate, if their liberties are

are violated ; and to remonstrate in terms that may be understood. The privileges of Englishmen are not a matter of grace and favour, but of right ; and what they may justly, legally, and constitutionally demand.

IN the course of our late political altercations, much has been said concerning Scotland and Scotsmen ; and we have been told, that the principal cause of the clamour against Lord B—— (on whose coming into power our divisions commenced) was, that he was born on the other side of the Tweed. But this is very far from being the truth. Had that nobleman possessed real abilities, and shewn a regard for the honour and interest of England, and the constitutional freedom of its inhabitants, there are, I believe, very few who would have reproached him on account of his country. Scotsmen of real merit have been very popular in England : the great Duke of Argyle, and the Earl of Stair, may be mentioned as instances of this. But when the Earl of B—— came into power, his virtues and abilities were, to say the least, very little known in England : and his elevation was generally considered as the cause of the removal of a great minister, whose merit and abilities were generally
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acknowledged, and who had carried on a most glorious and successful war. Thus circumstanced, Lord B—'s coming into power could not but have been unpopular, whatever country he might have been born in. But he sufficiently augmented the dislike of the public against him by his after conduct; by his precipitating an inadequate and inglorious peace; by the rancorous and arbitrary manner in which he prosecuted those who wrote or printed any thing against his measures; and, in short, by the despotic spirit which so strongly characterized his administration, and that of those who afterwards acted under his guidance and influence. But though I am far from thinking that Lord B— was odious to the English nation chiefly because he was a Scotsman, I cannot help thinking that great numbers of the Scotch have defended his character and his administration for no other reason. As to myself, I honour the Scottish nation, and have a personal esteem and regard for many individuals of it: but I am sorry that many of them have so little magnanimity, as to retain so much animosity against Mr. Wilkes, merely because that gentleman has, in the course of his political writings, thrown out a few sarcasms against Scotland; and I am still more sorry, that many of them appear so exceedingly

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ingly ready, on that account, to promote, support, and encourage measures prejudicial to the liberties of England. For my own part, were there any Scotsman, who had thrown out ten times as many sarcasms against England, as ever Mr. Wilkes has against Scotland, and were he to be prosecuted in the same unjust, oppressive, and arbitrary manner, that this gentleman has been, I would defend him to the utmost extent of my power and ability.

AMONG the several grievances of which you, Gentlemen, the Freeholders of Middlesex, so justly complain in your late Petition, there is one which demands, in a particular manner, the public attention. You complain of “ the perpetual imprisonment of an Englishman, without trial, conviction, or sentence, by the mode of attachment, wherein the same person is at once party, accuser, judge and jury.” How much is it to be regretted, that there should be room for such a complaint as this, under a Prince of the House of Brunswick! It is, indeed, extraordinary, that the case here referred to, has not more attracted the notice of the Public. Perhaps the person imprisoned was thought too obscure and inconsiderable: but surely this circumstance ought not to have the least weight with the

the real friends of liberty. If the rights of the meanest Englishman are violated, all his honest and independent countrymen should stand up in his defence, and endeavour, by every legal and justifiable method, to obtain justice for their injured countryman. Some, perhaps, may be apt to say on such occasions, "Why should I concern myself in this business? it is none of my concern: this man's case cannot be mine: he is very differently situated. I am at liberty: what is it to me what they do with him?" These are the sentiments of the mean, the selfish, and the sordid; of those who regard nothing but what immediately affects themselves. But let us be animated by more generous sentiments: every man ought to consider himself as injured, when the rights of any one of his fellow subjects are invaded. And, indeed, it is the interest of every individual to oppose the encroachments of tyranny, though they may not immediately affect themselves: for if we stand by with unconcern, and see others deprived of their native rights, no man can tell who will be the next object of ministerial despotism.

In the Middlesex Petition, as well as in that of the Livery of London, that most

unjustifiable use which has been lately made of the military power, is also justly complained of. The murders which have lately been committed in St. George's Fields, are what an Englishman cannot easily forget; nor can he easily forgive the men by whose orders they were perpetrated. I say, the *murders*; for though some people seem unwilling to remember, that more than one person was killed at that time, it is yet well known, that several persons were deprived of their lives by the alertness of the military on that infamous day. And, indeed, it does not appear to me, but that the killing of the other persons who fell on the same day with Allen, was nearly as atrocious, and as much murder, as the death of that unfortunate young man. For though they were not so particularly singled out, yet the firing on unarmed defenceless people in that indiscriminate manner, so as even to reach innocent passengers on the high road, appears an enormity little less iniquitous than the murder of Allen. The Riot Act is in itself of an arbitrary nature, and seems to have been at first intended chiefly to answer a temporary purpose; but even the Riot Act itself will not justify the murders in St. George's Fields. If the military have a right to take rioters into custody, they are empowered by no law to

to put them to death upon the spot. Shooting a man through the head is a very extraordinary way of taking him into custody; and it must not be pretended, that men were accidentally killed in the endeavour to take them into custody, when no other method than firing on them was employed. And I do not see what possible security the people can have for their liberties, if it be allowable for the M——y, on every trifling pretence, to employ the military against them, if they discover any dissatisfaction at the measures of administration. Justices of peace may always be found, who will readily obey the mandate of a minister of state; and it would be no difficult matter for those in administration to contrive to raise a riot themselves, by their agents and emissaries, for the very purpose of obtaining a pretence for inflicting military execution on the people.

HOWEVER real the grievances may be of which the nation in general complain, and however threatening in their nature, there are yet not a few who are always ready to treat the murmurs of the people as unreasonable and ill-founded. The enemies of public Liberty are many and various: placemen and pensioners, the numerous depen-

dependents on the court, and many others who are interested in defending the measures of the ministry. And to the disgrace of literature, there have been, at different periods, too many men of letters ready to enlist under the banners of slavery. Some of these will labour to defend every measure of government, however unjust, illegal, or oppressive; whilst others will employ themselves in blackening the character of every man, and traducing and reviling every writer, who engages on the side of freedom and his country. And among the various enemies of Liberty, there are some, who, in this age of refinement, seem to be so chiefly from affectation. These men are offended with Liberty, because the sound of it has been echoed through so many vulgar mouths; and having discovered, that many of those who exclaim against the measures of the court sometimes express themselves rather incoherently and absurdly, they very logically conclude, that the public complaints are without foundation. To differ from the vulgar is a mark of penetration: and these gentlemen, therefore, chuse to shut their eyes because common people see.

It is a melancholy reflexion, that not only private individuals, but large bodies
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of literary professors, whom we would wish to stile respectable, and who ought to be examples of public as well as private virtue, are too ready to prostitute themselves at the shrine of power. And it appears that in this respect, past times have resembled the present. In a late Biographical Work it is observed, speaking of Buckingham, the favourite of James I. and his son Charles, that “ the members of the University of Cambridge, in order to recommend themselves to the favour of the court, were mean enough to elect the Duke, at this particular crisis, for their chancellor; though he was considered by a great part of the kingdom, and that upon good grounds, to be the chief cause of some of the greatest national evils* ”. The Duke of Buckingham had just before been impeached by the Commons.

THE adherents of the ministry are very happy in one circumstance; that all who oppose them are illiterate, and ignorant, and stupid, and poor into the bargain; in short, all who dislike their measures are nothing but mere mob: at least this is their own account of the matter. And they also modestly inform us, that they

* British Biography, Vol. IV. p. 329. 8vo. 1768.
alone

alone have all the wit, and all the sense, and all the learning, and all the money, and all the landed property. There is, indeed, one species of property, which they may be allowed to possess in a pretty ample proportion; namely, the public money. This seems to have been distributed among them with sufficient liberality; but whether they possess so large a quantity of other kinds of property may be doubted. As to the wit and learning of the underlings of the m——y, we may give them credit for their proportion: but, if we may judge from appearances, their masters are by no means distinguished from their fellow mortals by any superabundant share of sagacity, or knowledge of any kind. There has been as little evidence of their wisdom, as of their integrity.

THOSE who endeavour to withdraw their countrymen from the interests of Liberty, sometimes take pains to persuade them, that such as are engaged in opposing the measures of the ministers, would themselves act no better were they in power. But arguments of this kind ought to have no weight. It is ever the duty of a free citizen to oppose tyranny; and it is not his business to scrutinize into the motives of those who are embarked with him in the

the same cause. Should any particular individuals desert a cause which they have espoused, this may reflect disgrace upon them, but cannot dishonour a cause that is in itself good: and no incidents of this kind ought to abate our zeal for the interests of the public. The actions and behaviour of individuals may be mutable and inconsistent: but to support the cause of Freedom is at all times the interest of the whole community.

IT has become, of late years, a kind of fashion to turn the words *Patriot* and *Patriotism* into ridicule. It is, indeed, too true, that many have made pretensions to Patriotism, who have shewn by their after conduct, that they were far from being really actuated by any such noble principle. But surely this is not sufficient to render real Patriotism a proper subject for ridicule. Some there are, indeed, who affirm, that there is no such thing as real patriotism, and that every man may be bought : but such assertions prove only this, that those who make them are themselves uninfluenced by any generous or virtuous sentiments respecting the public. Unhappily, Public Spirit is at too low an ebb ; but to affirm, that no man is really influenced by patriotic principles, is to affirm, in other words, that

there is not an honest and worthy man in the kingdom. No man can be truly virtuous and worthy, who does not love his country, and who would not labour to serve it; and wherever such a man be, there is a Patriot. That there are too few of this character, must be confessed; but because there are false pretenders to patriotism, to assert that none are really actuated by patriotic principles, is as unjust and absurd as it would be, to affirm that there is not a truly pious man in the world, because there are hypocritical pretenders to religion.

If the grievances complained of in the Middlesex Petition, and in that of the Livery of London, do really exist, that man must be unworthy the name of Englishman who would not exert himself to procure a redress of them. That some of them do exist, the most venal partizans of the court can scarcely, I think, have the effrontery to dispute. It was highly proper to lay before his M——y, a detail of the several instances of ministerial despotism and corruption, which have appeared for some years past, to enable Him to form a just idea of the men who have so shamefully abused his authority: and, indeed, it is at all times serviceable to carry truth to the throne, where too many are
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interested to prevent its approach. But it is scarcely possible, in the nature of things, to draw up an accumulated list of grievances, in such a manner as to leave no room for cavil to those who are disposed to it: though when the main facts of a complaint of national injuries are generally and notoriously known, trifling objections from ministerial minions merit very little regard. These are only calculated to withdraw the notice of the public from those matters, which ought to be the principal objects of their attention.

THE citizens of London have, on many important occasions, greatly distinguished themselves by their attachment to the principles of Liberty; and you, Gentlemen, of the Livery of London, have shewn by your late conduct at the Common Hall, that you have not degenerated from your gallant ancestors, but continue to be actuated by the same noble spirit; though some of superior station had not virtue enough to concur with you. When we reason only speculatively, it appears rational to suppose, that men in good circumstances, and of affluent fortunes, would be less liable to be influenced by corrupt motives, than those whose inferior situation seems to expose them more naturally to temptation. But

experience often proves, that this kind of reasoning is uncertain and fallacious. Those who possess much, are desirous of obtaining more; they are solicitous to rise higher, and with this view court the favour of those above them; and are often too much enervated by luxury, to be influenced by any principles of patriotism. Whilst, on the other hand, men of lower circumstances, of more moderate views and expectations, and of more regular and temperate manners, though they enjoy less property, often possess more independence of mind, and are more influenced by a virtuous affection to their country.

It has been said as an inducement to us to abate our opposition to the proceedings of the m——y, that Liberty may be lost by too anxious a solicitude to preserve it. But it is certain, that Liberty will never be maintained in any country, for any long period, if the people are not vigilant to guard against the encroachments of power. The general propensity of those in high station to extend their authority, and to oppress those of inferior rank, renders it always necessary for the people to watch the conduct of their governors, and to oppose every invasion of their privileges with spirit and firmness. Every instance of
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arbitrary conduct that the ministers are allowed to practice with impunity, will serve as a precedent for future tyranny; the rights of the people may, by little and little, be entirely wrested from them; and whilst under the specious pretexts of patience and moderation, they neglect the proper opportunities of maintaining their liberties, they may at length see themselves, by degrees, sunk into a settled state of Slavery, and redress be no longer in their power. Moderation, properly so called, is a virtue; but indifference in a good cause should rather be considered as a vice. Those who have little regard to any but themselves, and who are of too interested a disposition to hazard any thing in the cause of the public, frequently compliment their own conduct with the specious title of moderation; though their behaviour may more justly be considered as the offspring of pusillanimity, and of a mean, selfish, and sordid spirit.

You, Gentlemen, the Freeholders of Middlesex, have lately exerted yourselves in support of our common rights, with a resolution, steadiness, and generous ardour, that will ever do you honour, notwithstanding the impotent attempts of ministerial advocates to sully your reputation. Your
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motives were manifestly virtuous and patriotic, and do therefore command our esteem and our applause. And I trust that the more honest and uncorrupt part of the kingdom, in justice to themselves, in justice to their posterity, in justice to the memory of their revered ancestors, will concur with you, and imitate your conduct.

THE late arbitrary invasion of the rights of individuals; the attacks on the Liberty of the Press; the violation of the freedom of elections; the misapplication of the public treasure; the prevailing open and shameful corruption; the employing of the money collected from the people, in practices that tend to deprive them of their most valuable rights; the sanguinary and illegal use that has been made of the military troops, who are maintained by the people to be their defenders, and not their murderers; the total disregard of the principles and spirit of the constitution, and the avowed contempt of the people by those in power: these are matters that ought to alarm and arouse every man who has the least affection for his country. And should the m——y still persist in carrying on designs unfavourable to the public liberty, the body of the nation should, and I hope will unite, in opposing, with zeal and firmness,

ness, every attempt of that kind; and thereby demonstrate to all the world, whatever altercations there may be among the great, or whatever changes there may be in the mi——y, that, *whoever governs*, THE PEOPLE OF ENGLAND WILL BE FREE.

I am,

Gentlemen,

With great regard,

Your, &c.

F I N I S.